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ABSTRACT

An overview of some major current issues in maternal and paternal deprivation is presented. Parts I and II focus on (1) single parents and issues in paternal deprivation and (2) sex stereotyping and issues in maternal deprivation, respectively. More particularly, Part I discusses the effects of divorce and death on children and the problem of providing for nurturance by fathers in modern society. Cross-cultural variability in fathering patterns is accented and paternal influence on child development in terms of sex role stereotyping and intellectual development is discussed. Feminization of behavior and cognitive skills in sons, and effects of father absence on daughters are considered. Part II deals with the issues of sex stereotyping as personality deprivation. The relationship of paternal and maternal deprivation to school phobia, and the issues of schizophrenia, rejection of children and child abuse are explored. Part II explores the issue of maternal employment in terms of sex stereotyping, mother's morale, delinquency, and academic performance. In conclusion, emotional, social and intellectual effects of day care are noted. (Author/RH)

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Selected Papers

Unit for Child Studies

Number 6

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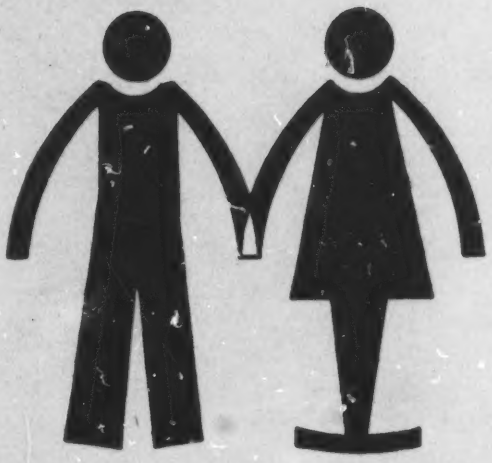

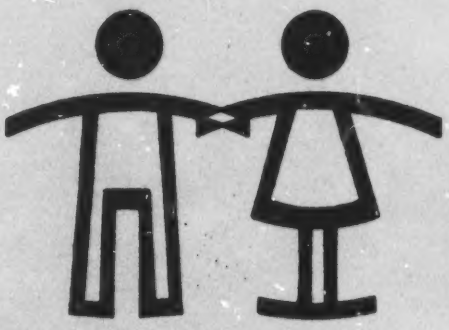

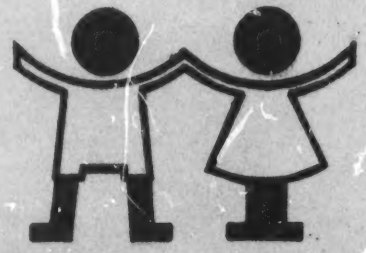

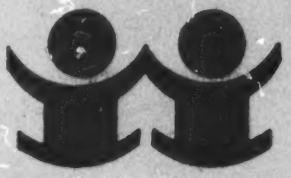

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CURRENT ISSUES IN MATERNAL AND PATERNAL DEPRIVATION

DR SHELLEY PHILLIPS

CURRENT ISSUES IN

MATERNAL AND PATERNAL DEPRIVATION

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(Transcript of a talk given to Mini-Course Seminars, October 1980)

INTRODUCTION

This seminar will give an overview of some major current issues in maternal and paternal deprivation. Because of the breadth of the topic, the seminar will of necessity give a précis only of current research. Its main emphasis will be on new insights, approaches and concepts in a time worn field. The topics for discussion will be:

PART I

SINGLE PARENTS AND ISSUES IN PATERNAL DEPRIVATION

1. Single Parents
   The Effects of Divorce and Death

2. The Importance of Fathers
   Do we Live in a Paternally Deprived Society?

PART II

SEX STEREOTYPING AND ISSUES IN MATERNAL DEPRIVATION

1. Sex Stereotyping as Deprivation

2. Maternal Deprivation
   (a) *The Scapegoating of Mothers*
   (b) *Emphasising Paternal Dyads in Childhood Deprivation*
   School Phobia
   Schizophrenia
   The Rejected Child
   Child Abuse

3. Maternal Employment

4. Day Care

The seminar has been divided into two parts for the sake of organization, but in most cases the topics in one part equally apply to the other.

PART I

SINGLE PARENTS AND ISSUES IN PATERNAL DEPRIVATION

1. SINGLE PARENTS

I shall begin the seminar with a preliminary discussion of single parents and divorce, because there are a number of single parents in the audience and often such parents believe their problems with their children are different from those of two parent families. These beliefs are not well founded. Most of the problems of single parents in respect of their children are similar to those of other types of parents when extraneous and confounding variables are properly accounted for. Whatever one can say about child development in general and childhood deprivation in particular applies as much to single parent families as it does to two parent families. The ensuing discussion on paternal deprivation in Australian society, maternal employment and day care will be as pertinent to their situation as any other.

As Ailsa Burns and Jacqueline Goodnow (1979) indicate, the single parent is not a modern phenomenon. A recent analysis of English parish records indicates that in the seventeenth century, the median population of orphans (one or both parents absent) in a village was twenty-five percent of all children. Where mothers were destitute, the workhouse was a likely destination for the child. Daniels (1977) has claimed the great Australian habit of wife desertion as a major national phenomena. The gold rushes and the depression of the 1890's and 1930's effectively cut a proportion of women and children off from traditional two-parent family life in generation after generation. In the early days of the colony, two-thirds of all children were reported to be illegitimate, and few means of self-support other than prostitution were open to deserted mothers. Single parents in the form of widows and widowers have always been with us and the literature abounds in descriptions of their fortitude in bringing up children single handed.

For Single Parents there may be some areas in which their child rearing problems are products of circumstances which should not be confused with the effects of single parenting. For example most single parents are female and most are poor, so they and their children suffer the effects of poverty. Also single mothers, particularly those who are divorced, often suffer poor self esteem in our two-some oriented society. In the first two years after divorce they may experience a lack of social and emotional support, loneliness and depression. It must be pointed out however, that many married women can also suffer these states. The children of parents with poor self esteem, whether they be single or double, are often deprived of the opportunity to develop into self confident persons with a sense of their own worth. Why this is and ways to improve self esteem have been discussed in the previous seminars.

Another detrimental effect of single parenting occurs where a parent, feeling abandoned and without the support of a partner, requires a child to substitute for the absent partner or reverses roles with the child such that the child becomes the parent (Bowlby 1979). This can be an intolerable burden for a child, especially as parents who reverse roles with their children tend to have an ambivalent attitude toward them because they feel let down by and angry about the partner or parent for whom the child is substituting. However, this condition is also prevalent in many two parent families.

Perhaps one of the few major areas in which the child of a single parent may be at greater risk is during the process of divorce and separation and the findings of some of the few studies in the area are worth mentioning in a seminar directed at increasing understanding of child development. The research is often linked with that on children suffering bereavement.

Children of Divorce and Bereaved Children

Initially children, discovering that their parents are about to separate or divorce, can feel distressingly deprived and such children often go through the same basic stages as a child goes through in response to the death of someone close to them or as the adult goes through in the same situation. Case studies best illustrate these stages and can be found in Hozman & Froiland, (1977); or Varma (1974).

Stage 1. Denial. The child will not accept that the separation is a fact of life and can become extremely withdrawn and attempt to block out anything that might threaten to disturb his/her fantasies of both parents in the familiar twosome situation.

Stage 2. Anger. During this anger stage, children frequently attempt to strike out at those involved in the situation. They may regress into temper tantrums and direct these at those who take the place of parents, including teachers.

Stage 3. Bargaining. When denial and anger are not productive the child may then try to make a deal (not clearly defined) such as promising to be good, or successful in school, showing love or trying to please. This is often interwoven with guilt feelings that the child is responsible for the death or divorce. Counselling toward reality is important.

Stage 4. Depression. This may occur when the children discover they cannot influence the situation that so directly affects them. Guilt about past behaviours and lost opportunities leads to mourning about the loss, even idealisation of the lost one. There may be panic and excessive clinging to parental substitutes and overconscientiousness.

Stage 5. Acceptance. They come to understand that they cannot blame themselves for the unpleasant situation, nor could they influence it. They admit reality although not liking it. The parent or counsellor must assist in their learning new coping behaviours.

These stages are oversimplified for the purposes of this seminar. Usually, the child is not totally in any one stage at any particular time. The suggestions are that if the child is not allowed time for mourning in death or divorce - as can be the case in our society - the repression involved may result in temporary delinquency (e.g., stealing); sometimes long-term symptoms of rejection become apparent in anxiety, compensatory reactions and regression, particularly if a child is lied to about the death of a parent (Varma, 1974).

One of the major concerns after death or divorce is of course how the father's or the mother's absence may effect the child's development and this brings us to a topic which conerns single parents, paired parents and all kinds of families and all kinds of children.

2. THE IMPORTANCE OF FATHERS

Do We Live in a Paternally Deprived Society?

We all know that ordinarily, psychologists, doctors, and the man and woman in the street do not speak of *"fathering"* and *"paternal behaviour"*, but rather of *"maternal behaviour"* and *"mothering"*. Our cultural stereotype is to see this as the norm and most desirable. Mother behaviour, mother absence, mother working, in sum, maternal deprivation, are the first hypotheses to be put forward if a child is acting out in any way. It is as though most members of our society are in what Jean Piaget, the Swiss psychologist, describes as the pre-operational stage in their concept of child rearing. Operating with childish logic, they take into account only one perceptually and emotionally dominating aspect and are unable to combine two or more possibilities.

Cross Cultural Studies

Yet, when we look at parenting across cultures we see how much our stereotyped views of the role of the mother is a product of our peculiar pattern of social and economic organisation which is based on profit and competition (Phillips, 1979 pp 94-97). This has generated role divisions between the sexes, such that women have become almost entirely responsible for rearing children. Men have concentrated on the exigencies of an aggressive market economy; women rear children for the inheritance of property and the supply of workers.

There are cultures in which men are as nurturant and involved with children as mothers, and parenting is more equitably distributed. An example is the Montagnais-Nashapi of the Labrador Peninsula before the invasion of the white trappers and the Christian religion (Eleanore Leacock, 1977). Historical records recount the amazement with which the newly arrived missionaries and priests regarded the tenderness with which Montagnais men treated their children and the responsibility they took in respect of them. Montagnais fathers, even today, participate in the care and socialisation of children with an ease and spontaneity deemed *"feminine"* in our culture. They are assured even with tiny infants (Leacock, 1977).

The Montagnais are generally indulgent towards their children and do not approve of child rearing methods which involve physical punishment and scolding. There is sexual freedom for women, lack of concern for legitimacy and an egalitarian society. The ease and goodwill with which the Montagnais live together has been commented upon by observers from capitalistic societies. The most distinguishing variable is an economy which permits egalitarianism between the sexes; this in turn leads to much less stereotyping of sex roles than is common in our society; the consequent freedom this allows to men to be nurturant to their children and to omit aggressive and competitive behaviours from their repertoire may be significantly related to the reported emotional stability of the early Montagnais and their patience and tolerance.

Similarly, among the Zuri of New Mexico, there are reciprocal economic relations between women and men and basic commitment on the part of all adults, male and female, to the growing generation. Thus, the patricarchal society, as we know it and the concomitant paternal deprivation in respect of children, is far from the norm, nor is it, I suggest, particularly healthy for the full and rounded personality development of children of both sexes.

Father Nurturance

There are but two or three empirical studies which explore the possibility of nurturant behaviour in males in technological societies and most of these are reported in one of the listed references by Helen Bee (1978). One observational study of interaction with new-born infants indicates that, in general, both middle class and working class fathers spend as much or more time in nurturant interaction with the infant as did mothers in the hospital setting. The same study suggests that the new born infant elicits such responses equally in men and women. A cross-cultural, review also reported by Bee (1978) suggest that care giving is more often observed in boys in societies where less aggression is required of them. In animal studies, males in many species seem to show an initially aggressive reaction toward the young. If this aggressive response can be inhibited or waited out, then nurturance may be shown. Limited research with primates points to the possibility that the male monkey will care for an infant if no one else does. Other research with rats and mice suggests that mothers may be hormonally "*ready*" to become attached to, and care for, their infants just after birth, but if the mothers are separated from the young for a period of time, then caregiving behaviours diminish. Extrapolating from the animal research we might expect that fathers, who have extensive contact with their children during early infancy would become strongly attached to the child and show more nurturant behaviour.

The Amount of Time Fathers Spend With Children

There are a few sources which indicate how little time fathers spend with their children. Graham Russell from Macquarie University's School of Behavioural Sciences in his studies has indicated that 60% of North Shore fathers do not have any regular responsibility for their children and Helen Bee (1978), drawing on the little research there is in the area, suggests that the time most fathers spend with their children each day can be counted in minutes.

Unfortunately, because fathers are regarded as so unimportant in child rearing in our society, there is little research, relating the amount of time spent by fathers in child rearing to personality development in boys and girls. Instead, paternal deprivation has been defined only as father absence and this will be discussed later. First, let us look at what research there is on paternal influence in child development.

Paternal Influence on Child Development

1. Sex Role Stereotyping

A number of sources indicate that many fathers are anxious that their children adopt traditional sex roles; in particular, they worry that their sons may adopt feminine characteristics and press for traditionally "*masculine*" choices in toys and activities for their sons. Mothers appear to share these concerns, but their reactions seem to be less polarised than those of fathers (Bee, 1978). This point warrants discussion. Does the absence of the father's influence in these matters constitute deprivation since men are more traditional than women in their sex role expectations? Graham Russell in his research (1978) and I in mine (unpublished) also found men to be more conventional. Men had more tradition ideas of the role of mothers and mothering and were less likely to believe that men would be as good as women in bringing up children. Thus, the research suggests that fathers are tending to reinforce the very

thing that I will later suggest leads to deprivation in personality development - namely sex stereotyping. I do not believe that this means we should remove men from child rearing, rather that we should explore the origins of anxiety about masculinity and feminity and reduce it appropriately (Phillips, 1979, p.95). At this point, one might underline how important it is to attract male students to courses in child development and fathers to parenting classes.

2. Intellectual Development

Secondly, what does the research tell us about the effect of fathers on the intellectual development of their children? Not surprisingly, a father's level of education and IQ is somewhat predictive of a child's achievement in school. Several studies also suggest that there is a correlation between paternal nurturance and intellectual performance in sons (Bee, 1978). There may be an indirect relationship, as it is likely that paternal nurturance provides positive experiences for the child, leading to a variety of stimulating experiences. Supportive fathers also appear to enhance the more masculine aspects of intellectual functioning in boys.

The Effects of Father Absence

1. Delinquency

In the past it has been frequently reported that father absent children (particularly boys) have higher rates of juvenile delinquency (Burns & Goodnow, 1979). These studies were often poorly controlled for socio-economic factors. Recent research suggests that father absence may be involved, but it appears to be of less consequence in predicting delinquency than such factors as the family's economic situation or the unsupported mother's ability to supervise the child. Typically, the family without a father is poor and suffers all the effects of poverty.

Important factors have similarly been overlooked in the research, which suggested that children without fathers did less well in school (Burns & Goodnow, 1979). For example, the loss of a father is nearly always associated with heightened stress and tension in a family following death or divorce. Family arrangements over meals or bedtime are more erratic, discipline becomes inconsistent and there is less reasoning, explanation, and communication (Hetherington, Cox & Cox, 1975). It is generally not until the second year after the separation that a reasonable equilibrium between mother and children is established.

Thus, it is clear that one needs to be careful not to attribute things to the fathers' absence per se which may be more related to disorganised family patterns and/or poverty.

2. Feminisation of Behaviour in Sons

The outcome of paternal deprivation in the form of father absence from an early age and for a long separation appears to be mostly that of feminisation of behaviour and cognitive skills in boys (Carlsmith, 1978); this means generally, that they tend to be less aggressive, do better on verbal than mathematical tasks, and have conceptual style which is global rather than analytic. Not all the research is consistent with this conclusion; a factor that cannot

always be carefully controlled is whether the boy has successfully identified with a male or male figures outside the immediate family circle. The question is again, of course, whether these deficiencies constitute negative effects and we are once more involved in the role fathers play in stereotyping the behaviour of their sons.

Father absent boys, particularly in working class families, appear to develop a heightened aggression or a kind of compensatory masculinity. There is also the suggestion that in some cases father absence with no substitute male figures, upon which the male child can model his behaviour, or with whom he can identify, may be a factor in some cases of male homosexuality (McCandless, 1967). The mother is the most salient model and the male child, therefore, learns sex-linked behaviour patterns which are inappropriate for our cultural expectations.

The latest research (Bee, 1978) suggests that, if the lone mother maintains firm and sensitive discipline, communicates well with her children, encourages independent and mature behaviour, and has a positive attitude to men and her former husband, her boys are not different from other boys in masculine traits and cognitive skills. In fact, such sons tend to have attributes associated with the positive aspects of masculinity and femininity (Mussen, Conger & Kagan, 1977). However, in some cases, divorced mothers show fewer positive reactions to their son's behaviour and excessive use of negative techniques (unremittant commands, prohibitions, and opposition to requests (Mussen, Conger & Kagan, p.377)). Apparently the male child is a scapegoat for their hostile feelings towards their ex-husbands and men in general. This effects the child's self esteem and he may exhibit the behaviours of a rejected child.

3. The Effect on Girls

The picture in respect of girls is less clear. Psychology is a male-oriented discipline and there has been much more concern with the effects of paternal deprivation on boys. Most studies report little or no description of sex role stereotyping where the father is absent in the girl's early years. Social learning theorists have assumed that the daughters acquisition of feminine behaviour and of the specific skills involved in interacting with males is at least partly based on learning experiences and reinforcement received in interaction with the father (Hetherington, 1967; Mussen & Rutherford, 1963).

It has been suggested by one or two studies (Hetherington, 1978) that girls with absent fathers might have some disturbance in their hetereosexual relationships during adolescence. In particular, studies of delinquent girls (Glaser, 1965; Monahan, 1951) suggest that paternal absence may result in disruption in heterosexual behaviour in the form of anxiety, suppressed behaviour, and loss of self-esteem in the presence of males; although girls are less frequently arrested on delinquency charges than are boys, girls who do become delinquent are more likely than boys to be the product of broken homes, and their delinquency is more often due to sexual misconduct; the latter probably reflects our double stands in respect of the sexes and sometimes has its origins in the prolonged sexual abuse of these girls by brutal fathers who subsequently abandon the family. In sum, little of the research points to positive effects of the father presence and this, perhaps, underlines the peripheral role accorded to fathers in our society. It does not suggest that egalitarian child rearing may not be more beneficial.

In conclusion of this section, it can be said that while we know something of the impact of father absence on traditional sex role adoption - particularly

boys - we have no empirical studies which evaluate ways in which we might foster egalitarian sex roles in children in our kind of society. Does nurturance by fathers inevitably lead to traditional sex roles? Or would nurturance, when combined with egalitarian roles within the family, lead to equivalently egalitarian role-adoption on the part of sons and daughters? Above all, would this be a good thing? I believe so, and that sex typing as it exists in our society stultifies personality development. I will illustrate this by referring very briefly to three different and most recent research findings in the area.

PART II

SEX TYPING AND ISSUES IN MATERNAL DEPRIVATION

1. SEX STEREOTYPING AS PERSONALITY DEPRIVATION

Our stereotyping of sex roles suggest that women are better at verbal tasks, think more globally, are more empathetic, more apt to allow intuition and emotion to influence their judgement and are less aggressive (Gilligan, 1979). The socialisation of men on the other hand, encourages them to stamp out these feminine characteristics and become aggressive, competitive and analytic. Their moral judgement tends to be legalistic (Gilligan, 1979) while that of women is directed more to doing the right thing by others, and concern about selfishness and responsibility (Gilligan, 1979).

Society and psychology projects and favours a masculine image, and the early social environment for males and females differs. Sex typing is built into our society's child rearing practices. What are the consequences? Sexism is one of the obvious outcomes and one large study of primary school children in Sydney which I undertook, suggests that sexism may have serious consequences for personality development and be the basis of socially induced personality disturbances.

For example, boys are anxious not to be "sissies" and are therefore required to repress many humanistic aspects of their personality and to scapegoat females and feminity (Phillips, 1979). Girls learn to repress assertiveness and are rendered vulnerable in a male dominated society. As a result of the stereotyping and the repression of different aspects of personality, males and females tend to suffer different personality disorders. Sociopathy (exhibiting no feelings of caring or concern for others) tends to account for significantly more male cases than female (Dacey, 1979). The pattern is similar in respect of passive-aggressive personality disorders, where displaced expression of extreme hositility manifests itself in passive forms. For example, the boy who deliberately fails in school to frustrate parental and teacher expectations.

Case studies of breakdown in middle-aged men ("male menopause") often reflect a long-repressed fear of the feminine characteristics; in middle age it surfaces in the form of projection and unreasonable rejection and hatred of wives, daughters and females in general. Often such men cannot see their wives as having any acceptable characteristics. Rather, they project onto them their hatred of their own femininity and see them as malicious, castrating, manipulative, intrusive, and emotionally unstable - the nastiest of the female sexual stereotypes, and it becomes a form of paranoia.

Exhibiting the demands of socialisation into the female stereotype, significantly more females than males suffer from anxiety disorders such as anxiety, depression and obsessive, compulsive reactions.

Even when one casts culturally recognised pathology aside, the research suggests that children are possibly deprived both paternally and maternally when cultural stereotypes are all that are offered to them. Their personalities become half personalities of all the possibilities open to them. Some of these possibilities were listed at the beginning of this second section of the seminar. But instead of aiming to educate men and women toward a rounded capacity for both global and analytic thinking and to have both empathetic and legalistic attitudes we have created the myth that these are opposites which cannot go together and so deprive our children of optimum cognitive and personal growth.

2. MATERNAL DEPRIVATION

The Scapegoating of Mothers

Linked to the sextyping syndrome is the intolerable burden of responsibility thrust on mothers in our society. "Depriving" mothers are blamed for almost every negative characteristic a child may show. Asthma, autism and schizophrenia are all said to be the outcome of cold or dominating mothers. A male-dominated society has produced a male-dominated psychology (Gilligan, 1979), and the Freudian concept of "maternal responsibility" (Phillips, 1979, pp 147-151). In this context, adolescents and adults feel justified in regarding mothers as the mainspring of their personal maladjustments and mothers have tended to become the butt of social resentment and hostility as a consequence (Phillips, 1979 pp 147-151).

Emphasising Parental Dyads in Childhood Deprivation

Yet in any case of deprivation both parents generally interact in some dyadic fashion. Each parent cannot be understood in isolation and deprivation is usually a joint affair - and often an entire family affair. To illustrate this point I shall give examples of the kinds of emotional and personality deprivation in which both parents may participate in a dyadic fashion, but which, in the past, has been held as the sole responsibility of the mother.

School Phobia

The first is taken from school phobia. The pattern that has been emphasised in school phobia (not to be confused with truancy) is that of a dependent mother who has had unsatisfactory relationships with her own parents. Such a mother reverses roles with her child and tries to make him or her the substitute parent. Such a child bears an intolerable burden of emotional responsibility. The child is usually also in a double bind because it is subject to hostility and accusations from the parent because the parent confuses the child with her own parents, and their rejection of her. The child gets the message, albeit unconsciously, and stays home to allay the mother's dependency anxiety. The sad fact is, that such children usually like school and do well there.

In the past such research has emphasised the role of the mother and described it as maternal deprivation. More recent research pinpoints the role of the father in this kind of emotional deprivation. It is emotional deprivation because the child lacks the sense of wholehearted love and support. Typically, in such a situation the father augments the child's deprivations. He may be passive and dependent, making no attempt to alleviate the child's difficulties; he may also be incapable of giving emotional support to his wife and child. Alternatively, he is often found to be excessively masculine, again incapable of emotional support, and frequently absent from home pursuing masculine pastimes (Conger, 1977).

Schizophrenia

Another situation in which the combined behaviour of both parents leads to emotional deprivation is apparent in some cases of schizophrenia. Typically, in these cases, the mother is the excessively dominant figure in the family situation, and the father is weak and ineffectual. Some sons in such a situation are confused by the conflict between role models in the home and in society at large. Obviously, in these cases, society and its rigid expectations bears much responsibility.

The Rejected Child

The rejected child is another case of emotional deprivation in which both parents may participate or one may "opt-out", leaving the way open for the other parent to harrass the child. Such opting out is a cruelly neglecting form of deprivation. Rejected children are easily recognised where physical neglect is apparent; they are not so easily recognised where the child is well-dressed and nourished, even showered with gifts. Contrary to superficial appearances the child may be deprived of wholehearted love and acceptance. Nothing he/she does is ever quite good enough. This leads to deprivation in the child's sense of self-worth. He/she may become attention-seeking and annoying in school, delighting in upsetting teachers (Phillips, 1973). The deprivation is further compounded by teacher rejection, and so the deprivation comes from all quarters.

Child Abuse

Child abuse can be a further example of combined maternal and parental deprivation where one parent fails to protect the child from the abusing parent or both abuse the child. Child abuse constitutes severe deprivation; it is generally persistent and in thirty percent of cases results in permanent neurological and psychological damage - such that the child becomes mistrustful of itself and others, fails to show emotions (such as joy, sadness and frustration), and experiences difficulty in paying attention in class (Fontana, 1974). Children at greatest risk are those who, as babies, were demanding, irritable and unresponsive to parents, and those who are born prematurely. In the latter case, the hypothesis is that some hospital policies with premature babies may deprive the mother and child of the opportunity to develop early bonding or attachment which is hypothesised as crucial in the development of affectional relationships.

Abusing parents are from all social classes, but typically present some of the following psychological patterns:

1. A belief in physical punishment and hardship as the best method of child rearing. Usually such a parent was reared this way in their own childhood.

2. Immaturity. The immature parent has a tendency to

   (a) reverse parent/child roles with the child and to expect the child to provide security for them,
   (b) to resent the child for limiting their freedom,
   (c) to compensate for their own immaturity and inesecurity by setting harsh and unreasonable standards for desirable child behaviour.

3. The neurotic or psychotic person who may themselves have had a disturbed childhood, is unable to share themselves with others and possesses disturbed thought processes to the extent that they assume the child has an adult capacity for organised, purposeful behaviour and hence, feel the need to retaliate to someone whom they feel will harm them.

4. The addict, including those addicted to drugs and alcohol.

The deprivation these children experience is often compounded because neither neighbours, doctors, or teachers, all of whom are in an excellent position to help the child, take the responsibility of seeking help for that child.

By omission they share in the responsibility for the child's deprivation. In many communities, as in the previously mentioned case of the Montagnais, all adults take responsibility for children. In our society, economic relationships have determined that the child is the property of the parent. The greater attention to child abuse since 1960 represents the slow dawning of the notion that children are a community responsibility where the child is deprived.

In order to take part in this general responsibility, teachers, parents and child watchers can begin by learning to recognise some of the symptoms of child abuse which follow:

The child is
(1) frequently late or absent from school
(2) unkempt and inadequately clothed for a particular season
(3) appears undernourished and always tired
(4) is uncommunicative and withdrawn
(5) destructive in behaviour
(6) there are inadequate explanations for the child's bruises or injuries
(7) the child tends to arrive very early at school and stay late, without adequate reason
(8) the parents fail to respond to letters to visit the school and generally show disinterest in the child.

When these patterns are consistent, then the case should be discussed with a centre experienced in child abuse, such as the Royal Alexandria Hospital for Children, or Prevention at the Wayside Chapel. The organisation *Action for Children* will also help. These organisations will stress that moral overtones should be avoided. Usually, the abusing parent is also badly in need of help and has also been an abused and deprived child.

I shall now briefly review the research on Maternal Employment and Day Care and discuss whether, according to the latest research, these constitute maternal deprivation?

3. MATERNAL EMPLOYMENT

We have had, in this country, a long history of opposition to working women - except for the period during World War II when they were needed in munition plants. One of the assumptions underlying this opposition is that separation of mother and child, especially during pre-school years, is seriously detrimental to the child's welfare. Research by John Bowlby on institutionalised children and his concept of attachment, gives psychological support to this assumption. I will not discuss his concept of attachment, as I assume you are all familiar with it. I believe it to be an important concept as long as it is not applied to mothers only. I also assume you are familiar with the early research on maternal deprivation and institutionalised children. Hence, all I will say on this point is that the assumption in that research, that maternal deprivation caused cognitive deficits and emotional disturbance, arises from ill-controlled studies which ignored many variables. In fact, the institutionalised children

studied, suffered from a great many things besides the lack of a single mother figure. They also had little contact with fathers, or father figures, or a variety of adult models, or non-institutionalised children. They had few toys, and were generally stimulus-deprived as well as mother-deprived.

Later research suggested that the drastic effects observed might be avoided by increasing the staff/child ratio, by providing nurses who attended and responded to the infant's cries, smiles and vocalisations, and by providing a more stimulating visual environment.

Nor can the earlier research on infants in severely-deprived institutions be extrapolated to working mothers or to many of the day care and alternative care situations as we know them today. Children of working mothers are not deprived of their mothers, and they experience a home life which is richer and offers more varied stimulation than was common in the institutionalised orphanages of the forties and fifties when Bowlby did his first research.

The research on working mothers, as compared to non-working mothers, is beset with methodological inadequacies. For example, does the study indicate who has been classified as the working mother: those who work part-time, full-time, one month, or ten years? Have the differing personalities of the mothers, their different child rearing practices, their feelings about their work, their reasons for working, their feelings about themselves, their class background, their level of education, and their needs, been taken into account? Are the effects on boys and girls clearly distinguished?

Child Rearing Practices

A study by Lois Hoffman (1978) which controls most of these variables, suggests some of the answers in respect of the relationship between female employment and child rearing practices. "When mothers' motivations regarding working are taken into account, the non-working mothers who are dissatisfied with not working (who want to work but, out of a feeling of "duty", do not work) show the greatest problems in child rearing. They describe more difficulties in the area of control, less emotional satisfaction in relationships with their children, and less confidence in their functioning as mothers.

... Working mothers who prefer to work and those who do not wish to work show few group differences in child-rearing practices, probably because the working mothers (of this sample) who prefer not to work are nonetheless achieving certain valued family goals.

Among high-school-trained mothers, differences between working and non-working mothers appear in the following areas of rearing: firmer control over children, assignment of greater responsibilities to children, and delegation of the stricter disciplinary role to the father appear more frequently in families of working than nonworking mothers. In the tertiary-trained working and non-working group, these differences do not occur. The tertiary working parents tend to compensate for time away from children by more planned, shared activities with their children than is found in the tertiary nonworking group. The data on educational groups suggests that maternal employment brings different kinds of familial adaptations depending on the value systems of the particular cultural subgroups in which the mother is combining mother and worker roles." (Bee, 1978, p. 128).

Sex Stereotyping

Since the child learns sex roles from observations of parents, maternal employment appears to affect the child's concept of the female role (Hartley, 1961). Children of five years of age and older, whose mothers work, are more likely to approve of maternal employment. Daughters of working mothers view work as something they will want to do when they are mothers. They see women as competent and effective, while sons of working mothers see men as warm and expressive. The fathers, whose wife works, may be seen as a more nurturant figure, because of his taking over some of the child-care roles.

Daughters of employed women are significantly different from daughters of full-time housewives in that they did not downgrade female achievements; such as articles written by women authors. It is women who have not worked who devalue feminine competence. Among tertiary students, maternal employment is related to positive attitudes about social equality between the sexes. Adolescent daughters of working mothers are more likely to name their mothers as the person they most admire, and tertiary women students with working mothers are more likely to name their mothers as the parent they most resembled and the one they would most want to be like (Bee, 1978).

Daughters of working mothers have higher academic and career aspirations, and show a high level of actual achievement. They also have higher self-esteem when any of the following conditions exist: the mother works for self-oriented reasons, is very satisfied with work, or is a professional. When the mother's employment involves conflict and difficulties, the daughter's self-esteem is not enhanced. In summary, maternal employment is associated with less traditional sex role concepts, more approval of maternal employment, and a higher value of female competence (Bee, 1978).

The Mother's Morale

In a study by Birnbaum (1971) reported in Bee (1978), full-time home-makers indicated more anxiety about their children, especially with regard to the child's achievements, and they stressed their own inadequacies as mothers. Professional women responded positively to the growing indepencence of their children, while the home-makers expressed ambivalence. At the time when the child needs a parent who can encourage independence and instill self-confidence, the anxieties and concerns of these women and their own frustations would seem to operate as a hindrance.

In summarising, the data about the working mother's emotional state suggests that: where she obtains satisfaction from her work, has adequate home and child-care arrangements, so that her dual role does not involve undue strain, and where she does not feel so guilty that she overcompensates, the outcomes are likely to have positive effects on her children, and often more so than the non-working mother.

The non-working mother is not necessarily interacting with her child as much as is imagined, or as pleasantly. We know little about this. It may be that the working mother's deliberate efforts might end up as a greater positive interaction time.

Delinquency

There is no recent evidence to support the old hypothesis that maternal employment is associated with delinquency. Rather, it is suggested that the full-time, steadily-working mother is a positive factor in the child's social

adjustment. Where delinquency is found in working class groups, it is usually linked with less adequate supervision. On the whole, in the poorer groups, it is suggested that the mother working represents a realistic response to economic stress and thus, because of selective factors or effects, may be correlated with more socially desireable characteristics in the child (Bee, 1978).

Infants and School Age Children

In her review of school-age children, Hoffman (1978) indicates that there is very little evidence linking maternal employment with maternal deprivation.

With regard to infants, the quality of the day care appears to be the crucial factor. However, the studies are often poor and omit critical variables. For example, Bethelheim (1969), armed with strongly-Freudian assumptions, has noticed some deleterious consequences in the kibbutzim. Yet, as Bronfenbrenner (1974) points out, these children spend more time each day interacting and playing with their parents than do children in the more conventional family, and the time spent together is less subject to distraction. The mother participates a great deal in infant care, and breast feeing is the norm. Thus, the Israeli kibbutzim does not provide an example of maternal deprivation and the studies usually omit other variables such as the social context and the nature of the parent's work and their attitudes to both.

Academic Performance

The results on academic performance also reflect poorly-controlled variables. Where social class, sex, age, and IQ are matched the suggestion is that elementary school children with professional mothers are more proficient in reading. The important factor appears to be that children in these families were read to more. This suggests that distinctions need to be made between parental level of education which were not controlled in the study.

Sons of working mothers seem not to fare as well as daughters. The data suggests that sons of working mothers in the middle class show lower academic performance. In the lower class, however, better academic performance in both sexes is associated with maternal employment.

4. DAY CARE

Kinds of Day Care

Most children cared for by someone other than the mother are not cared for in organised day centres at all. A large percentage are cared for in their own homes and the remainder, outside their homes, through private arrangements. There is almost no information on the consequences of family day care, despite the fact that it is a more common arrangement for young children. There are some existing stereotypes of family day care which depict such care as unstimulating with large numbers of children cared for by untrained adults. In fact, most have less than six children, and a few studies suggest that in cases where such care is enriched by well-informed caretakers and stimulating surroundings, day care has its advantages for children from poor environments (Robinson & Robinson, 1978).

Emotional and Social Effects

Some studies suggest disruption of the mother/child attachment in day care, either in the form of anxious attachment or detachment; the latter may be interpreted either as a sign of healthy independence or as restriction in the child's potential for attachment. Others find no differences between day care and home-reared children. Bee (1978) suggests that the conflict between studies arises from the child/staff ratio in the day care centre - the lower the ratio, the less disruption exhibited. More research is needed.

In another study, infant care children were compared with those who had entered day care at the age of four. They were found to be less co-operative with adults, more aggressive and more active. There were no differences in playfulness, ability to abstract, success at problem solving, spontaneity, or getting along with peers. There was a slight difference in tolerance for frustration, with infant care children being somewhat less tolerant (Schwartz, Strickland & Krolick, 1974).

However, the study did not investigate the type of family who placed their children in early as distinct from later day care. These parents may have been systematically different.

Finally, several studies suggest that children in day care are somewhat more likely to get colds or other respiratory disorders. To sum up, all the data reviewed shows no major short-term dislocation but there is insufficient data on this and on long-term effects.

Intellectual Effects

The data on children's intellectual development is much clearer. Consistently, the studies indicate that group care children are superior in intellectual development to a home-reared comparison group.

These studies may reflect the effects of expensively-funded centres which constitute the samples in these studies, and there is little or no research on typical neighbourhood day care centres.

Thus, as the research on day care is very limited, one can only make recommendations which take into account principles central to child development. In the placement of any child, in order to avoid deprivation, his or her needs and personality should be carefully considered in relation to the atmosphere and personnel of the day care centre. Above all, a day care centre or day care mother should be checked thoroughly before a child is left.

CONCLUSION

To summarise the overall main issues of the seminar: Society has long dwelt upon the problem of maternal deprivation. Here, tonight, the discussion has been more comprehensive and the concept of paternal deprivation has been included. I have also suggested that a concomitant problem of deprivation in our society is sex stereotyping and that the argument that single parenting and maternal employment and day care necessarily constitutes deprivation is dogmatic and omits to take many important factors into account. I invite you all to discuss the issue.

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